

THE
PRINCIPLES

OF

Modern PATRIOTISM,

Catechetically Explained:

IN

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

PHLOGOS and WAGSTAFFE.



DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXX.

THE

PRINCIPLES

OF

MODERN PATRIOTISM

CONSTITUTIONAL EXPANSION



A DICTIONARY

BETWEEN

PHILOSOPHY AND WAGSTAFFE



DUBLIN:

Printed by the York M. DCC. LXX

DEDICATION.

TO

CHARLES LUCAS, M. D.

FREE-CITIZEN and REPRESENTATIVE of the

CITY of DUBLIN,

Ast ego vicissim risero.

HOR.

Venerable Sir,

THIS is the last respectable epithet by which you have been recommended to public esteem, and with the highest satisfaction I salute you under it. If I knew a name more revered, and of greater desert, I would have passed you by, and gone to him for that countenance and protection, which every juvenile author wants, and should secure, if he can, for his early productions: the known slur upon the traffic of dedicating by calling it a *wooden leg*, was another motive, as it obliged me to look out for a patron, whose means were as moderate, as his fame was extensive, from whom nothing was to be expected, that could fill, be they ever so empty, either my belly or my purse. The truth is, that literary fame being the only thing I am in pursuit of, there was none to whom I could so properly apply as to the man, who had early in life taken the same route, and by matchless vigour and industry, had gone through it with

such remarkable success. You, sir, looked for immortality only, and you have got it, nor will any one envy you, because to the disgrace of your contemporaries, you have got nothing else, *ingrata patria, & ossa tamen habes*, what even SCIPIO, under the admired institution of a republic, could not attain.

But, sir, as I have chosen you for a *patron*, so also for a *pattern*, meaning, as nearly as my scanty powers will permit to imitate you, and I speak with this reserve, because in many things I know you are utterly inimitable. Who can write so fast as they say you do? Or who can spell so correctly? In volubility of discourse you are almost without an equal: in the powers of invention, when disposed to be smart and facetious, you have none. Salt without savor, acrimony that never galls, fire that never scorches, in what happy mass did these qualities ever combine, except in doctor L——! You can lash without smarting, and cut without cicatrizing; the effects all of a subacid spirit, that according to Sir Isaac Newton, always *coagulates in fermentation*: such originality! such an archtypal exemplar, is not to be copied: it would be too arrogant and vain in me to attempt it, in going so near the fun, my *Icarian* wings would probably drop off.

In what I am going to mention, I pretend, however, in some degree, to resemble and be like you; I begin for instance, this my first essay for fame, nearly I believe at that stage of life, when you began yours: when under the *titule* of PHARMACOMASTIX, you rendered yourself the terror and dread of your brethren apothecaries, and their allies the druggists:—in that sphere you shined, and there I am well assured, you might have thriven, had not nature designed you for higher and greater
 atchieve-

achievements : how often do we ignorantly blame
 the man, when nature only is in fault : which *si*
peccat in uno, always *periclitatur in altero*: groveling
 souls sordidly content in beaten paths to jog on to
 wealth, and from wealth to power, called you I
 know a fool for going out of them, insisting that
 by keeping in the way you were trained, you might
 have long since been a sheriff, an alderman, a city
 treasurer, a mayor, and by this time been as cor-
 pulent and greasy, as dull and lazy as the best of
 them, without the vexation of disappointment, or
 the trouble of soliciting for a salary. Thus it is
 that men will babble and prate, without knowing
 any thing of you, your views, tendencies, im-
 pulses or powers : never considering, that had you
 stood always behind a counter, you had never got
 a seat in the senate : had you never harangued in a
 town-hall, you would never have figured with such
 eclat in a h—e of c—s. Had you never been
 an exile, you could not have returned triumphant
 with a *nolo prosequi* in your pocket : had you never
 skirmished with aldermen, you had never been ex-
 pert enough in the use of your arms to attack a
 V—r—: had you not been as *gallant* as you
 were alert, (for your gallantries are not, it seems,
 forgotten) you could never have had that interest in
 the sex, which adventurers for fame can never be
 without ; and there are who recollect the current
 of your passions at that time, who express their
 surprise, that when you turned from pharmacy to
 physic, you did not rather chuse the *obstetric* art,
 for a reason that modesty will not allow me to
 mention. You might upon their plan have at-
 tained the law commendation of being a good fa-
 ther, a good husband, a useful citizen, a punctual
 paymaster, and might have trained your children
 in the ways of industry, and set them out with
 stocks

stocks to make them useful, reputable, &c. But alas! what are such domestic cares? Parental tenderness! conjugal affection! social ease! or the reputation they bring in! what are they? when compared to those more manly, generous, and rational ones, which employed your time and ingrossed your thoughts: you chose the better part, the *dulce et decorum*, your country was at stake, all secondary cares of course were to give way, and be deserted, when you felt it tottering; you magnanimously resolved to try, though your legs had failed you, *quid valeant humeri*? When the plague of corruption had gone forth, you generously stood between the dead and the living, and stayed it: when with cutaneous foulness the whole body was livid and spotted, and its disjointed members by rottenness just dropping asunder, you, the *Æsculapius* of the age, with unparalleled generosity, without patent, fee, or any mercenary view, spontaneously assumed the port of *MEDICUS AD STATUM*, and by a lixivium extracted from your salival glands, cemented the discontinuity of the parts, anointed all its sores, and so preserved the vital functions: under any other auspices, I presume to say, that liberty must have expired, our greatest and most valuable privileges all been lost; the privilege of defaming, the privilege of coining and giving currency to falsehood; of erecting and establishing a mint for that very purpose: the privilege of elbowing, of nosing, of affronting our superiors, and above all, that inestimable and *pene divine* privilege, of bringing down the mighty, and exalting men of low degree: of destroying foundations, turning topsy turvy the state, and to perpetuate its duration, fixing it like a cone inverted, upon the pyramidal point, with its base aloft. Shall we not praise thee for these things? Shall we live

under

under the sense of such manifold obligations, and deny thee when a thousand shillings are due, the small, the unequal tribute of 300l. a year?

Discouraging lately with a citizen of note upon this subject, he had the malepertness to observe, that he wondered you had not publicly entered your protest, against all that had been transacted in that affair: he wondered, he said, that men who were perpetually declaiming against *pensions*, could inconsistently submit to receive them: men, said he, may give things what names they please, but things will still be what they are in spite of them: if you will not agree to call a salary from the city a pension, you must however admit, that it is at least a retaining fee, by which the man is engaged to speak but to one side of a question, be it right or wrong: he illustrated the point by an argument made use of by an honourable and ingenious young senator last session, on the case of one who is lately become popular among you; if pensions, said he, are to be considered as a species of corruption, this must go with the rest; if you consider it only as the retribution of gratitude for services performed, why shall we give the people a right to do this, and withhold it from the prince? May not he retain men to speak for him, as well as they who combine to oppose every measure of ad——n, except it be by men of their own chusing?—Shall I confess, sir, that I was posed, and did not know what to reply, but that I would consult you, who I was confident, after solving so many problems, and cutting so many knots, could unriddle every riddle in the mystery of politics, and would give him an answer full and satisfactory: so I told him, and *inter desiderata* here I leave it.

From the part of a panegyrist, which I meant at setting out, only to act, I am here unpleasingly

called off, and as a young author, and much younger politician, must beg leave to stop the current of my passions, to apply to you for instruction in a point of some importance to the public, as well as to myself:—whence is it, sir, I want to know, and I am sure you can tell, that as soon as any man is turned out of office, or employment, or demits through peevishness, that he instantly attracts the respect, and becomes the idol of that part of the people, whom you have the honour of leading? From what causes does this proceed? Upon what principles is it to be accounted for?—If a man had good qualities before he was in office, why may he not still retain and make use of them? Are they by that absorbed, eradicated, or obliterated; how is it that as soon as he is turned out, they all return, and bud, and shoot and blossom again? There are, it is said, animals, which change their colour according to the stones or plants they lie upon; but this has not been observed to be the case of men. You as an alchymist, can diversify forms, and drag out latent qualities from fossils or vegetables, but I doubt whether even you could carry these powers, into the intellectual, moral, or political world.

I am led, sir, to this inquiry by adverting to what hath lately happened in this metropolis: a certain gentleman has been turned out of office, and as soon as the *guild of merchants* could assemble, they wait upon him with an address; and some think they bungled in the affair, by not tacking to it a remonstrance, for which a paragraph or two from your last dedication, where you talk so amply of grievances without naming them, would have fitted exactly:—I mean not, believe me, to depreciate the good qualities of the man; so far from it, I allow him, his full tale of merit, confident that he was as well intitled to their compliments in

1754, as in 1770. Why were they silent then, why not think of it till now? Have they forgot their ROGER, the hero of those days: how one was thrust out, and the other thrust in? Why, I ask, was this compliment postponed, or never thought of till he had received a public mark of his sovereign's displeasure? Is this indicative of loyalty, or disaffection? To me it has the air and the sound of faction, the sign of a turbulent unruly disposition, that means not to let government under any circumstances roll on pleasantly, or smoothly: it looks as if they were upon the search, and poaching for the opportunities of inflaming the passions of the desultory and giddy, in the design of throwing every thing into confusion. Are the *guild* of merchants competent judges of what is fit, or convenient, or necessary in such cases? Is it the part of wise men to shoot at random, without seeing the mark? Do they know the whole of the case? Suppose, sir, what is but a part of it, that some years ago, when the brother of that gentleman on the other side of the water resigned, or was dismissed, he had made a formal offer to play the same game, in the view of strengthening to join the faction, so to bring it home to ourselves, and would have done it, had not the brother prudently advised him to keep quiet where he was, the thing being out of his department, and what he had nothing to say to: suppose farther, good sir, that this general disposition of the man was no secret to his sovereign, or his representative, and finding him who had formerly been as pliant and ductile as the twig of an osier, become uncomplying, headstrong and sturdy, it was natural, you will say, to have an eye to his conduct, and watch his motions, and as soon as by any overt-act, he had given full proof of his design, to make a faithful report of it to those who were

interested in the issue: thus it happened, and he was turned out, and how I should be glad to know this was the mark of *a weak, or a wicked prince*, as your friend *Syndercombe* calls it? Was the prince obliged to wait for his surrender? Was it not right to get the start and be beforehand with him? If I knew that my servant was uneasy in my service, and by disobeying my orders, meant to distress me in my affairs, ought I not to discharge him, and put another in his place, especially if by his post, he had the opportunity of seducing and debauching the rest? Could you blame me for such procedure? When I had done it, would it be neighbourly or friendly in you, to take him into your favour, to caress and make much of him, merely because I had turned him off, finding I could trust him no longer? Indeed, my dear doctor, these things have but an ill aspect, in the glass through which they are reflected to me: is there another, by which they may be more aptly represented, hold it up, I beseech you, that I may see them in the form, wherein they appear to you, and by you have been exhibited to your fellow-citizens: I call upon you for this: it behoves you to do it: you owe it to your once very gracious sovereign, who when you could not rise, took you by the hand to help you up: you owe it too to the public, and to me a young scholar, studious to improve under your *ferule*: extend then your pious care, your care of my conscience, as well as of my liberty: for in this my nonage, I still put some value on both: lead me gently in the way, shew me how I may be a good patriot, and at the same time a good subject: allegiate to my prince, and steady to the interests of my country: I have not yet learned to separate them even in idea, why may they not consist, and go together? Is not my prince a part of
that

that country, to which I am in duty and affection attached? whilst I serve him, I necessarily methinks serve it, and by deserting his service, that I desert my countries; nor can even the pen of a JUNIUS convince me, *That a traitor to his sovereign, is not the enemy to his country, or that the first is of infinitely less consequence than the last.*

What did JUNIUS say this? He did and more, such things as convince me, whoever he is, that he has no probity, no faith nor good intention. In one page* he asserts, *That no open violence done by the king, or any breach of the laws by his ministers, can endanger the liberties of the country.* And in the next gives you a muster roll of every incidental little violation, or breach of law inimically imputed to either, *as justifying reasons to his subjects, (if they have either spirit, or understanding left) for cancelling every obligation of loyalty.* And this after acknowledging, *That those are matters which ought to stand single, and be imputed to necessity, as arguing no attack upon the system.* In one place his majesty is arraigned for deliberating, whether the sheriffs should be admitted, and immediately again condemned for speaking at any time to his subjects, but by his ministers. The form wherein he says he would address his m——y if admitted to the closet, is to me the most curious ever penned: but let him for a moment fancy, he heard his m——y replying in terms like these, and tell me what he would say to it. “ I set a higher value upon the
 “ *interest and tranquility* of my subjects, than upon
 “ my own: I have so little inclination *to live in*
 “ *disagreement with my people*, that as soon as I
 “ know the sentiments of the major and more respectable part, I always placidly consent to go

* Remarks on the Answer to the City Remonstrance.

“ along with them, and of this my subjects have
“ had more experience than ever they had in the
“ course of so few years, under any of my pre-
“ decessors: I have no other way of knowing the
“ sense of the nation, but when speaking by their
“ representatives: and clamour, be it ever so loud,
“ from any other quarter, I can only consider as
“ the *voice of faction*. I am always open to the
“ petitions of my subjects, and acknowledge their
“ right to present them, but when they forget
“ their duty, and approach me in terms of disre-
“ spect, of contumely, or threatening, they forfeit
“ all title to favour, or grace. When the subject
“ matter of their petitions is new and extraordi-
“ nary, my way has been and will always be, to re-
“ fer them to the deliberation and judgment of the
“ parliament, who are my great council, and the
“ grand inquest of the nation, to whom I am in
“ honour and duty inseparably united and attached.
“ To be guided by the advice or remonstrance of
“ a private corporation, however respectable, in
“ opposition or in preference to theirs, would be
“ unsuitable to the duty as well as to the dignity
“ of a king of England, without attachment to
“ names or persons, farther than their fidelity and
“ services deserve; I must and will inviolably ad-
“ here to the form of the constitution, and the
“ laws of my country; in this my predecessors
“ formed their honour, and would all have found
“ their *safety*. If Charles I. was wrong, I am
“ surely right.” To the celebrated JUNIUS so
much was due, and could not well be avoided, of
whom I will say, that he would be a good writer,
if he was a fair one: if at any time impartial, I
would bear with his freedom, nor would even his
pains to perplex, offend, if he were not so indeli-
cate. His colours are lively, but mostly very ill dis-
posed,

posed, never running so imperceptibly, one into the other, but that we can always see where truth ends, and the falsehood begins, nor is there any where enough of the first, to give a shew of probability to the last. His principal art is in mistating of facts, and it is from that his arguments draw all their weight.

To your friend and disciple young *Syndercombe*, in the following dialogue, considering his very eminent services, I have paid too slight a compliment. He is a promising spark, but keep him tight by the band-strings, I advise you, or from eagerness to snatch the prize he is in quest of, he will be apt to run away; caution him to be less impetuous and precipitant, and when he means to be smart, not to be so scurrilous: you, sir, as might be expected from your age and experience, are more temperate and stayed, though some of your readers pretend to say, you have whipped your PEGASUS too hard, and almost jaded him.

The period I refer to, is your last address to the L—d L———t, which I look upon as your *opus palmarium*, wherein you have strained all the nerves of your understanding. People buy it, and read it, and say in general as I do, that you are a tolerable paraphrast, but a wretched commentator, the notes to the full as foolish as the text: I apologise by saying, that the *ded——n*, and the notes are not by the same hand, and would rejoice for your honour, to be sure, I had guessed right: mens' parts like other powers, often, it is said, fail them, when the passion within, and the object without conspire to sollicit; one looks like the result of a gay turn, when the spirits had been raised by wine, the other of LASSITUDE, consequent, they say, often to the enjoyments of a happy night: it is, according to BOERHAAVE, the case of every animal, to be *post coitum*

coitum inerte, and you, my dear, have not been studious to conceal from the world, that you are excessively uxorious. If this old phænomenon is fairly accounted for, you must, I doubt, hereafter resolve to finish whatever is in hand before you go to bed, otherwise as here it hath happened, you will sink into the bathos, and in vain attempt to soar; and when you are no longer able to write, God help the public! and God help me for want of a model.

You see, sir, I am a fair copyist: like your friend doctor *Deane*s, I do not endeavour to take you off, by SCALPING YOU: nor like doctor *Blythe*ws, if I am detected, will I deny the work of my hands, as long as I know that my printer could prove it against me. If I am called upon, assure yourself, I will bravely stand forth and avow the fact: since the worst that could betide me, would be to get out of the kingdom to avoid *Newgate*, as was once your lot: I recollect the thing with pleasure, remembering well, how the lustre of your merit beamed and broke through the cloud, black and thick, as it was, which your enemies threw over it: the sun may be eclipsed, but its resplendency never goes out; you returned with brighter rays to enlighten your *BOETIA*, so may it fare with me.

If I wanted courage for such enterprizes, the present situation of things would inspirit me; I see no prospect of an ensuing campaign in haste. But though this promises safety to me, I ought and must condole with those who paid so dear for their seats, and were at such pains in rumbling over journals and records, &c. to shine in one orb, and thence to rise to a higher. Alas! alas! it was too much, *et opus et oleam perdere*. Shall I go to his Excellency, and intercede with him to intercede for you? Will you promise in the name of the rest, to be good children for the time to come?

Shall

Shall I tell him, that ye are sensible, ye have brought all this upon yourselves; that ye are ashamed of your puerility, and will never hereafter contend for a point of honour, when there is nothing to be got by it? It is the course I would advise, and in my soul, I believe, the best you can take: make me your sponsor, I wait your instructions, and by a ready compliance, will prove to you, how sincerely I am the friend of every patriot in Ireland, and how particularly I am, my dear doctor, my venerable representative,

Your most obedient,

and devoted humble servant,

AMICISSIMUS.

Dublin, May 1770.



740 725 611

Advertisement

FROM

THE EDITOR.

IF the reader finds any entertainment in the following sheets, he will be indebted more to the author's memory, than to his invention, who gravely assures him, that he has not put a single sentence into the mouth of Phlogos, which he had not heard in conversation or read in print.

If any one asks who is Phlogos, or who Wagstaffe? He answers, who they please: any of the noted champions on either side: he made use of the names, only because he found them in the Mercury or Freeman's Journal, without enquiring who they stood for; and from want of information in this interesting point, if he has unwittingly given too little fire to Phlogos, or too much phlegm to Wagstaffe, or vice versa, and has not made those sprightly transitions, from dullness to wit, and wit to dulness, suited to the respective characters, must hope to be excused.

Sensible he is, that many important matters are either intirely omitted, or but very slightly touched, for which his real, not feigned apology is, that he was forced to size it to the taste in mode: that the appetites of Irish students he well knew, were very keen, but at the same time easily overdosed, not grown up to the full stature of the pattern they were copying; and that a chop, or a jill were better suited to their stomachs, than large joints, that required much cooking and carving. Having laid his scene in Dublin, (where, [he calls his bookseller to witness] there is no market for goods that are not portable and cheap) it would consist but of one act: just what he computed,

should employ the vacant interval between the C—H—quay and the chophouse, usually spent at the Exchange or the Globe: but for this too palpable defect, promises, if this sample is encouraged by a ready sale, to make amends on some future occasion, having on hand abundance of such ware, enough he verily believes to fill up two or three magazines, in which before he dies he would gladly fill a niche, as through them only the *acta erudit*. Dub. have any chance of being transmitted to posterity. Next to Watson's almanack, he is bold to say, it is the most, or only useful production the age has to boast; since by its means, every haberdasher, barber journeyman, sempstress, apprentice, shoe boy, &c. have been formed into staunch trusty spirited politicians and patriots.

In this panegyric mood and strain, the editor was arrested by a stupifying fit of spleen, that changing the prospect presented to his thoughts, his little grandson then prating at his knee, some 40 or 50 years hence, after accidentally turning over these *act. erud.* as he has called them, soliloquising in words like these: “ Ah
 “ *nimium fœlices ! si sua bona norint !* “ with the
 “ hundredth part of the sense or virtue these our fore-
 “ fathers pretended to, they had been the happiest peo-
 “ ple on the face of the earth: blest with a temperate
 “ climate, a fertile soil, equal laws, and the best of
 “ princes, what did they want? What had they to
 “ wish for? But proud, prodigal, and perverse, in-
 “ dulging madness and folly, how! alas! how fatal-
 “ ly! have they bequeathed and intailed upon us bon-
 “ dage interminable, the chains and fetters we now
 “ wear, and which, though galling, can never be bro-
 “ ken.”

P. S. The reader is requested when he comes to the last pages, to take the Freeman's Journal of April 3d. and 7th. and with what accuracy he can, to compare it with the strictures he will there meet with.

THE



THE
PRINCIPLES
OF
Modern PATRIOTISM, &c.

W. **P**HLOGOS I kiss your hand, you have been true to your appointment, and I thank you; I longed for the opportunity, as I told you in my card, of conversing with you, that as we have been long engaged in controversy, we might more intimately know one anothers sentiments, and either put an end to it, or deal hereafter more upon the square. Shooting at random as we each do, we often miss our aim: may I hope, that you are come honestly resolved to speak your mind, and to conceal nothing that may be for the edification of our respective pupils. You know on which side I am retained.

PH. I do, where I know you are at eternal variance with sense and reason. Whatever it is that has prompted you to desire this meeting, I come resolved to indulge your curiosity: candor and openness are, your known, characteristic of the class I belong to: it is by that we gall the sycophantine tribe

tribe of courtiers : by that I am the idol of the people.

W. I am of Cicero's mind, and shall never envy you or any man of praise that is to be got or sought at a shambles. If you find your account in it, you have my consent to proceed.

PH. You have your reasons, and I have mine : so without farther prefacing begin, and I attend you.

W. I begin in the catechetical way, which because you are too old to be schooled, we will, if you like, call the Socratic.

PH. Ay do, the other is too clerical.

W. First then let me ask you what is the chief end of man ?

PH. I do not see the drift of the question, but as I have given you the lead, I will be content for once to give you your way : primitively my caunting progenitors taught me to lisp out, that it was to glorify G—d, &c. But as I cannot suppose you have any such cabal or jargon in your head, I answer plump and plain, to live in jollity and ease, to be independent and free.

W. What do you understand by being free ?

PH. To do always what I list.

W. What by being independent.

PH. To be always my own master, subject to no controul, uninfluenced by any authority.

W. Are those things, Phlogos, possible, within the compass of any human power ?

PH. In a social state, I confess very rarely, if ever. In a state of nature, it was, it may, it ought to be.

W. Would not that set nature and duty at variance ?

PH. No : for I suppose nothing to be of duty, that would cancel any essential law of nature.

W. But

W. But cases may arise where religion and law, will command this, and where they do, do not you think they should be obeyed?

PH. Religion and law, why man, these are the shackles we complain of, to which the freeborn generous soul indignantly stoops: where they will not warp, they may be eluded, or dispensed with, when it can be done with safety.

W. It seems then in your account, personal ease and safety, is the primary essential law of nature: is it so?

PH. So I have always held and taught, since I began to figure in the world, and pronounce him to have been a blockhead, who said that *self love, and social were the same.*

W. Consider what you say Phlogos, do not you apprehend the contrary of this might be proved?

PH. Let me see: plausible things I confess, have been said in this way, enough to stagger weak minds: but if you will observe, they all end and take shelter in religion, and whenever a disputant is driven to that asylum, we look upon his cause as desperate: for that is referring us only to authority; a sound to a British ear too grating to be endured.

W. Pray Phlogos, what do you understand by the word religion?

PH. Why it is a matter out of my road, that I have not studied much, but *vi termini*, it must be *a relegando.*

W. Right! It implies then obligation to love peace, truth and right, whence then has your dislike arisen?

PH. Because the idea of Priest is inseparably annexed: admit one, the other comes upon you of course.

W. And

W. And so you would part with one, rather than not get rid of the other ; would you ?

PH. Would I ! What sensible man would not ? Priest is a complex idea, it implies and includes *craft, trade, monopoly*, the devil knows what.

W. But may they not in idea be separated ?

PH. What never was, never will be, nor can be : whilst we bear with one, we shall always be hampered with the other.

W. In your sense then, Priest and Jugler are the same ?

PH. Exactly, you have it.

W. And so rather than not get rid of Priests, you would discard religion ?

PH. If you would invent a religion that could subsist, or be propagated without them, perhaps we might bear with it : but if that cannot be, as I doubt it cannot, because it hath never been, I must stick to my rule ; it is better to be rid of both.

W. For whom is it better ?

PH. For me, for every man who scorns servitude, whose nobleness of soul, will assert his independency.

W. Tell me good Phlogos, where did you learn these notions ?

PH. Learn them ! from the best and only schoolmaster man can learn from, where every man free from the trammels of pedantic education, if he has capacity to trace and deduce them, may learn them—from nature. *Naturam que sequi*, do you remember who said it ; what other guide do we want ?

W. Take the whole verse together, *servare modum finemque tueri*, and I own the precept is not a bad one, considering who said it : but had you no other helps ?

PH. Why

PH. Why yes: the business of the world don't always give leisure for painful study, so to shorten the task, we recur sometimes to authors of distinguished note for capacity and erudition.

W. Be so good as to name them, that I may be able to direct young students.

PH. They are too numerous to be easily recounted, or indeed recollected; but the most *irradiating*, whom I would chiefly recommend, are the *Independent Whig*, *Cato's Letters*, the *Craftsman*, the *North Briton*, *Junius's Letters*. Nay *Wagstaffe*, if it favors not of vanity, I pretend myself, though not *exprofesso* to have thrown great light over our general principles, and with a manly patriotic spirit, to have asserted that great pillar of truth and right INDEPENDENCY.

W. As long as there is party and faction in these islands, I have no doubt, these great names will be had in remembrance; and I confess you are intitled to share in the honor they have acquired. But to keep to the point, are you not aware that by this you have adopted the principle you just now renounced, and set up authority in the place of nature and reason?

PH. Not at all! By thirst, nature directs us to the fountain, when we have doubts, reason to go to the oracle. In the first case if the waters are not limpid and pure, nature forbids us to drink: in the second, if the oracle is ambiguous, to resolve it, if we may, by study. Still we follow nature, and following that, cannot do amiss.

W. But the eye may be deceived, and the palate may be vitiated; this fountain, though it looks pure, may be poisonous, or if not the fountain, the streams, where the keenness of thirst may induce you to stop; in any of these cases, would not nature advise to philtrate the waters, or apply

for advice : caution in the one case, would be as reasonable, I should think, as study in the other.

PH. We are not to be scared by consequences, not apprehended or foreseen at the time : our aim is to be independent and free, and interest and pleasure are the guides that shew and lead the way : this is the sum of our philosophy !

W. I thank you for the information, and will endeavour to improve it to the advantage of my countrymen : in the mean time, let me ask you Phlogos of the several denominations, under which the good folks of these islands are classed, which do you affect to be called by ?

PH. By that which comprehends every thing that is good, a PATRIOT.

W. What is the precise idea in your mind marked out by that term ?

PH. It has not been defined with sufficient accuracy, nor generally, I confess, understood. I am sorry to observe we are divided in the point.

W. Considering the motley tribe to whom it is undistinguishingly applied, that is not to be wondered at. But what is your definition of it ? For as I know you have been initiated into the mysteries of your sect, you have, I am persuaded the *Kruphion dogma* and it is that I want to learn.

PH. The *krufon dogmi*, what the devil's that ?

W. Why it is the word, the sign, the secret doctrine by which the initiated know, and are known, to quarrel against intruders, who might be spies upon them.

PH. You are mistaken, Wagstaffe, we have no secret doctrine ; we speak openly, and what I now whisper in your ear, you may preach on the house top. A PATRIOT is he, who with spirit and steadiness, opposes every government, and every administration, under which it is his lot to live.

W. So

W. So much I had conjectured, but what reason have you to bear you out in this?

PH. The best in the world : no other way to preserve freedom and independency.

W. Your opposition then, is not because things are injurious, or bad in themselves or to society ; but because they are ordained, do I take you right?

PH. You do : this is the spirit and very essence of liberty : the principle upon which every dissenter differs from the established modes in religion or government : he quarrels with things, not because they are wrong, but because they are imposed.

W. This is new : and as far as I yet see, by no means orthodox :

PH. Orthodox ! What ? have I got a parson in disguise ? Who the devil cares whether it is or no.

W. No indeed ! I would not take the liberty to introduce you to company, that I know would be disagreeable ; but I could not avoid carping at your definition, so opposite to what I had conceived ; for to my mind, the word had always conveyed the idea of an honest peaceable man, who laying aside all partial byass, had constantly the interest of the whole community in view, and for that reason would never chuse to disturb the peace of his country, but when some apparent necessity forced him to it, till some valuable constitutional privilege was invaded.

PH. This is still in character, and might do from the pulpit, where there is no body to contradict ; you would lull us asleep ; but you will find us awake, and resolved to dispute every inch of ground with you : analyse and go to the bottom of things, you will find it as I say, the moment any thing is imposed, opposition is necessary, and ought to commence.

W. Let me remind you Phlogos, that there may be political as well as theological heresy ; I am too short-sighted to see any reason for this.

PH. I wonder it does not strike you : is not all power founded in *usurpation*, maintained by, and for the sake of *oppression* ? And let any government alone to the operations of its own mechanism, how fast will it run to corruption, and from corruption to tyranny : there is no safety, but by keeping governors constantly at bay.

W. You have forgot a link in your chain : must it not go through the medium of anarchy, before it comes to tyranny : out of anarchy it must and only can emerge ; to which you seem to me to be precipitantly hurrying : weaving that, which by the by, I would have you consider ; should not the evil be felt, before the remedy is applied ?

PH. Very fine truly ? After my brains are knocked out, I am to send for a surgeon, no, no, prevention is the best remedy : tie up the hand that would strike before it is lifted :

W. You put me in mind of Seldens woman, who gave her child a pitcher to carry, and whipped it before hand, for fear of its breaking it : when grievances and evils are complained of, ought they not to be specified ? And should they not be such as affect the general community ? Where individuals only suffer, there is a remedy by law.

PH. In our case the operation is too slow ; and as to your demand : pray, sir, has not that been done ? Do not you recollect in what glowing colours they were exhibited in the *London Livery's first petition* ?

W. Wagstaffe, the particularities there set forth have been all canvased ; and pray, sir, have they not turned out to be all imaginary and groundless : the fictions of distempered heads ?

PH. How

PH. How, sir? Were the sufferings of Mr. Wilks imaginary? You forgot yourself: has he not been deprived of his seat in parliament?

W. Stay Phlogos, I should give up that measure as impolitic: what was done at last, should have been done at first; or had the wretch been treated with contempt, as an insignificant tool, he could have done little, if any mischief; at the same time, they had to say for themselves, that a *CLODIUS*, or a *CATALINE*, was not fit to be classed with Senators; *WILKES* is a licentious, immoral, profane, and impious man. The great advocates of liberty, a *CATO*, or a *CICERO*, would not have endured him among them; can any thing be more ignominious, or betray worse designs, than going to a prison, or a brothel, for a representative and an alderman?

PH. Why I grant you the thing bore no good appearance; but no man should be deprived of his birthright; and would you have us quit that hold? If we had given up Wilkes, all had been lost.

W. A better course methinks was before you, you might have cast about for one less exceptionable; any other had probably been accepted?

PH. Psha! You know nothing I see of factions, or how their interests are to be carried on; any degree of calmness and decorum in the case, would have ruined us; the ministry would have triumphed, and the mob deserted us; you have not taken it into your heads, I hope, that we mean to part with you so easily? Never fear, we will bear him in yet upon our shoulders.

W. What? in the face of an act of parliament?

PH. It is but to remove man, certain *BAUBLES*; you remember the thing, and know what I mean. I tell you man, that even in Dublin, was I to be treated as Mr. Wilkes was, the

Viceroy

Viceroy here might have had as hard a card to play, as his master.

W. I recollect a case here that had too much resemblance to this; that a certain gentleman I could name should blush at; a spirited parliament sent him a packing, an indulgent Sovereign restored him to the forfeited privilege; and people have observed, that since, he has not very worthily requited him. I advise you, good Phlogos, not to copy the precedent, look to yourself and bound your career; the Viceroy has spirit, nor does he want good backing.

PH. Damn him! I defy him! And so have told him to his face; you see how I play him off in the Freeman's Journal, and his little *satelles* the S—y, I should glory man in running the same course, to be renowned in story, to have sucklings lisp out my name, to be the hero, the toast of every patriot club, it is a glorious prize; to be confined so long as Mr. Wilkes was, was not indeed eligible; yet upon the whole, they have done him I think a kindness; pampered with turtle and venison; he has come out fatter and sleeker than he went in; his debts too all compounded or paid, with never-dying glory to be huzzaed through the streets; whereas overlooked as you said,—he had dwindled into contempt.

W. The fever is so high, that nothing I fear but bleeding will cool it:

The Scorpion's oil will cure, it's said,
The wounds which its own venom made.

PH. Are you hardy enough to prescribe that method of cure?

W. I prescribe nothing; all I study is peace; a thing, without subordination impossible; but let us go back to what we were upon; you said just now
Phlogos,

Phlogos, that all power was founded in usurpation, &c. Now I have heard otherwise, that it was founded in CONSENT, and delegated for PROTECTION. Do not the men of your class contend for ORIGINAL COMPACT ?

PH. Some half-witted men such as *Locke*, &c. do ; but in the modern sense among the veréadepts, original compact, like original sin, is original nonsense ; it is the language of men who are for compounding matters with the tyrants and usurpers of the world, we have struck them out of the catalogue : men may rest in modes of doctrine at one time, that will not do at another : *Locke's* notions were tolerable at the time he wrote ; politicks like other sciences in a progressive state, is advancing fast towards perfection, but has not yet got at the goal. CAOS *must come again*, before the finishing stroke can be given, and every thing set to rights.

W. Are you serious in this, or only bantering ? I know you are naturally facetious.

PH. Do you suspect me ? I tell you I am serious, and that it is the sum of every modern patriot's political creed, which we believe as firmly, as that there is a God.

W. Then you have taught me to enlarge my litany ; but say Phlogos, do you believe there is a God ?

PH. If I should own it, what would you infer ? You have a long train of deductions ready I warrant, to pour in and perplex me.

W. Very true, for I ask but this single principle, to——

PH. Hold, I thought so, and here you think you have caught me ; the expression I own was unguarded.

W. Then in reallity, you do not believe in God. Is it not so ?

PH. I

PH. I really do not know whether I do or no ; I believe in something that goes by that name, but what it is, having no idea, I do not trouble myself much about it.

W. But if I can lead you to some rational and consistent idea, will you not allow me ?

PH. I beg to be excused, I am at present undisturbed and easy, enjoy my pleasures and pursue my interests without remorse, and do not mean to distract myself with *mormo's* and bugbears, set up by Priests and Statesmen.

W. But———

PH. But what ? Stop here for you shall lead me no farther. I have not yet lost sight of what my friend, the ever memorable and immortal JOHN WILKES has suffered for a little indiscretion.

W. You grant then that he was indiscreet.

PH. Ay surely ! You remember what I said before, men like children are not to be playing foolishly upon the hole of an asp. Religion and law are neither to be violated, but *when it can be done with safety*. A wise man, a man who is wise for himself, will not strike until he is sure of his blow, and can strike with effect.

W. When Mr. Wilkes overshot himself, ought you not then to have given him up ?

PH. Not so neither : it was the cause of the public he was fighting, and we were for that, bound to support him ; by his means things are matured, and the event brought nearer ; you call us a rabble and a mob, without helm or pilot, running blindly to we know not what ; but you will find, that we have a certain and fixed end in view, and shall accomplish it in time.

W. Pray, what may that end be ? Tell me candidly what do you propose, by all the noise and disturbance ye have raised ?

PH. It is methinks easy to perceive; ask your own hearts what do you propose?

W. The common weal, the good of the state; to preserve our admired constitution in all its parts; to keep the balance equal, that none of the parts may preponderate, or intervele upon another; that law shall always have free course, though liberty and property of the subject be always safe, and industry and honest arts, have every suitable encouragement.

PH. Had we carried our point and got the ascendant, you might perhaps hear many of us canting just as you do; but when that happens, it is hard to say, what turn the fluctuating humours of men may take; nor when they subside and settle, what will emerge and be the result; the very means by which this must be effectuated, make it impossible to say what we would do; *facta est alea*, we have passed the *Rubicon*, and must take our chance.

W. And do you really mean to push things to this desperate hazard?

PH. Yes! to put all to hazard rather than fail.

W. Than fail of what?

PH. Rather than be shackled with forms, and not be as I told you independant and free.

W. But are you not sensible that our constitution, strain it ever so much, will not admit of this?

PH. What it will not admit, it must be forced to admit, we must and will be free.

W. Free of what?

PH. Of the thralldom of ministerial and regal power.

W. What! both?

PH. Yes, both, they must go together, for whilst one subsists, the other we plainly see, will go on and keep ground with it.

W. But I thought as a patriot, that this mixed

government was in your judgment, the best that could be, and that you intended no more, than to purge and preserve it from corruption.

PH. Why it is true, we amuse the people by canting in this way, but it is only a bait to seduce them, till we have dragged them to a certain length, that will put it out of their power to revert, and indeed so far we reckon we have them already.

W. But to act up to the character of a patriot, you surely should have some regard to the legal forms of the constitution; I thought this had been the essence of patriotism; what do you say to this?

PH. Had you read and digested the London Liverys last remonstrance, you would have spared this question; people were not made for laws, but laws for the people; nor the forms of the constitution for the forms sake, but for the substance: there is a stroke! there is grammar, logic and rhetoric, the true sublime, all in one short sentence.

W. Very brilliant I confess and masterly! but let us sift and examine it: now I have been taught that law was the substance of the constitution, as without it there could be neither liberty nor property, and of law without forms I have no notion.

PH. Hold! there would seem to be some mistake here, but I have it. Pray what do you make of common law, that has no forms?

W. What do you call common law?

PH. Custom.

W. And have custom no forms, how are they pleaded? Must you not prove them, before they are admitted as law?

PH. There is something I grant in what you say; but granting it to be all true, I do not see how it will avail you; for even on that footing I might argue with you, that the ends of the last glorious revolution,

revolution, have never been carried into execution, or in any degree ascertained.

W. I am glad to see you are forced to change your ground, I shall be able presently I imagine, to beat you from all your posts: it would appear to me that the ends of the revolution have been all ascertained; we have no way, that I know, of guessing at the intentions of men, or what they had in view, but from their acts; and if the great leaders at the revolution, thought fit to stop at a certain point, we are to conclude that they meant to go no farther, having done all that they intended. All that I can see now of their intentions was, that they meant to establish a legal government, to bar out despotism, to define the bounds of prerogative, and secure to the people legal privileges, and having done this, what had they to do more? You do not suppose I hope, that they meant to leave an open for licentiousness and confusion always to break in, as often as the distempered brains of popular demagogues, or the phrensy of disappointed ambition, should stir up a wanton and dissolute people?

PH. Pray, sir, allow me to explain myself, you are a little too pert and captious in your interrogatories; I insist they might, and ought to have done more than they did. *V. G.* they left us a government consisting of three estates, (*which by the way was two too many*) and did not even provide for the independancy of those upon one another: I refer you to the author of the Dissertation upon Parties, he has amply and finely illustrated this topic; he could speak and write truth, though like the rest, as a statesman he could act against them.

W. You might perhaps, with more truth have said, that when a statesman he acted right, and wrote wrong merely to try, if upon the shoulders

of a deluded people he could not get in again, that parading tautologist, has indeed turned the argument in the light you have now placed it, and in a mist of words led to those false notions, by which the nation has been distracted ever since : but if you will examine, it is all sophistry, or a *ten de mots* : for if the three estates were independant of each other, as he insists they should, or any one of the three independant of the other two, the ballance would be instantly destroyed ; and nothing can be plainer, than that to preserve the ballance, and keep the constitution in its regular poise, they must be each and always reciprocally *dependant* : perhaps the author meant the same that I do ; indeed it is not to be imagined, that a writer of so much sense and knowledge, could mean otherwise ; but however that was, here was certainly an abuse of language, an injudicious, though designed, choice and application of forms at least, and the great bulk of his readers, deluded and led into a very palpable and dangerous mistake. Do not you see it ?

PH. There is more in this I confess than I had thought of. I must admit, that they were designed to be a check upon one another, consequently as often as one has it in its power to stop or arrest the other, so far the one arrested is dependant, and if either was so independant, as to be rid of this restraint, that one would be supreme : it is I see, upon their reciprocal dependancy, that the stability of the constitution rests : but still we are, where we were ; for so it is that by our forms the substance is destroyed ; for hence it falls out, that the King (a word I hardly endure) having it in his power to check the parliament, and the parliament in their power to control the people, they may conspire to humour one another, and between them, the independancy and freedom of the people shall be, and indeed is destroyed,

W. Do

W. Do not suppose impossibilities, nor put cases that can never occur; you see plainly from what has been said, that independancy is a notion that can never have place in our constitution; it suits no state, nor condition of men in it, and you will not surely any longer contend for it to individuals, when even in their representative capacity, they cannot have it: blot it out of your thoughts, I advise you.

PH. Zounds man! we cannot part with it, we must and will struggle for it.

W. *Populus si vult decipi decipeatur.* But remember Phlogos, that I now tell you, that ye are making a rod to whip yourselves, the smart of which will awaken you, and when it does, ye will hardly be to be pitied: but leaving this to your own thoughts, let me ask, what has put you so much out of humour with that monosyllable KING?

PH. Because it conveys to mind the idea of a tyrant.

W. What, a King of England! they are surely alien and inconsistent, a King of England neither makes, nor gives law, and is more fettered than you.

PH. No matter for that; things will not be as they should be, until we are rid both of the name and the thing: if I recollect (though it is a book I have rarely looked into) I have read in the Bible, that there was a time, when there was no king in Israel, and that the people were never so happy as in that interregnum, for I think it is celebrated with this elogium, *That then every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes.* That is the state we would be at: happy times, transcending even those uncommon ones described by Tacitus, *where men thought as they listed, and spoke what they thought.*

W. And

W. And would you really chuse to live in such times?

PH. Ay surely! if we cannot be free without it.

W. And what would you do with your King? How would you dispose of him?

PH. We have come to no settled scheme about that yet. In general we wish he would save us the trouble: go back to *Herenhausen*, abdicate as *JAMES* did.

W. In case he did, what would you do then? Would you chuse another?

PH. No, thank you; we have seen the folly of that experiment already; *oranges and roses* they are all alike.

W. But where would be the advantage of your scheme then? You must have somebody to preside, to see the laws put in execution: and what in effect is a King here, but the executioner of the law.

PH. Be it so, for indeed it is so: but then I would not have it in the power of this executioner of the law (as you call him) to act by proxy, to appoint his own deputies, which by multiplying to such infinity, have given him a power over the other two estates, that makes them no more than the servants of his imperious will.

W. You seem, *Phlogos*, to have forgot your character of a patriot: would you have your country rich, flourishing and respectable, or poor, indigent and contemptible?

PH. What would you be at now? The first to be sure.

W. You would preserve then, if ye could, these sources of opulence, its colonies and trade.

PH. Doubtless! what then?

W. Why then: I ask you, is it possible, that a Prince with a large territory, and a great number
of

of subjects, must not have more servants, or deputies, than one in a state poorer and more confined? Consider the several parts must be all guarded, and there will be a greater variety of work to be done them all.

PH. I see where your question tends, and where you would lead me: you have gone off from the point, or perhaps not understood me; the thing I would be at, is this, I would not have these deputies of his naming, they should be the servants of the *people*, not of the *King*.

W. That is, you would have him to be a Pageant of state: something to stare at on a holiday or so, and no more: is that it?

PH. Even so: all power is from the people, and in them it should rest, have they been the fools to divide, or to share it; they would not divest themselves of the right to resume it.

W. Who do you call the people? Individuals, or their representatives?

PH. I will own, Wagstaffe, that if representatives could be tied up to act at all times conformably to the nature of their trust, it would be in general more eligible, that the people should be considered only in their representative capacity: but when they forget, or go beyond that when they set up for themselves, and refuse to act up to the instructions of their constituents, they cease to be representatives; the people then disown them as they do now: the emphatic and spirited manner in which this matter has been blazoned by that great body of people the London Livery, may save me the trouble of enlarging upon a theme, that otherwise I should dwell on with delight.

W. It is amazing that nonsense should have power over a mind instructed as yours: but tell me good Phlogos, how long this practice of instructing

has obtained; to me it appears to be only a modern mode and not sufficiently authenticated?

PH. What the devil do you mean! not sufficiently authenticated; why man it arises out of the nature of the thing, and carries its authority in the face of it, though it were but of yesterday.

W. Hear me patiently, I beg of you, I mean no affront: but do not you see, what infinite abuse it is liable to? And when it is abused, in your opinion, what is the representative to do?

PH. To do! the best he can, but never to violate the privilege.

W. Would you give the representative no option? Is he a mere stalking horse for the people, to to shoot under or over as they like? As a patriot, if you would allow me to assume the title, I should think, that a representative was bound at all times to consult the general interest, the good of the entire community: for this reason particularly, that different counties and boroughs, may have different interests, by which the instructions to their representatives may often clash and interfere: V. G. the representatives for London, might be instructed to move for a law that would hurt the trade of Liverpool or Bristol; or that of Norwich, that would be injurious to Manchester; and the same might be the case in respect to counties: where their interests interfere, so will the instructions; and in that case, I ask you what is the duty of the representative? Is he absolutely tied up, without any liberty of discretion, to act by his own judgment?

PH. In the clearest cases, there will be always something I see to perplex human reason; it is but a dim lamp; but however, the representative may be hampered, the constituent's right will still be undisputed: cases like these you mention, will rarely fall out.

W. You

W. You are mistaken, Phlogos, they have often fallen out: a particular instance may make it plainer: in the reign of Charles II. a law was made at the requisition of certain counties in England, to prohibit the importation of Irish cattle. You know how injurious that law turned out in its consequences to England, and how advantageous to Ireland, though we bellowed here against it till we were all hoarse: now had the representatives of the counties in England, who clamoured for this law, judging with more foresight and discretion of the consequences, than their constituents possibly could, joined the minority who were against it, and have prevented its passing, what would be your sentence in the case, would you not have commended them for their wise and impartial proceedings? And does not this clear up the point, and make it plain to you, that constituents can have no such right over their representatives, as is implied in this modern practice: but that in all cases they bear with them this general authority, to do always what is right, when the whole of the case is fairly considered and comes before them?

PH. Damn me; there is something in this; but we must not quit our hold; if we do, our patriot clubs, of which we have one at least in every county, instituted for the very purpose of instructing, would all break up, and be useless. Without this, patriotism would expire, and patriots sink into the level of ordinary men: be the thing as it will, you will admit, however, Wagstaffe, that I have acted up sincerely to my professions.

W. I shall never be wanting in personal respect, or good manners to any one, especially to so obliging a guest as you Phlogos now are, and therefore forbear animadverting upon any thing past. But tell me, are you not apprehensive, that by main-

taining this doctrine, a man of candour and sense such as you are, might be led into very uneasy and disagreeable circumstances?

PH. You are at liberty to explain yourself, but I do not see how.

W. Put the case now, that you were the representative of this city, and that your constituents would call upon you to move for a bill to repeal *POYNING'S LAW*; there is no one bait, at which the people of this city, would perhaps more readily catch, and you will easily consent, that a few days would be sufficient to echoe it through every street and lane of the town; the Liberty Boys would run together probably in an instant, and carry on their shoulders to the lobby of the house their patron who was to move it; here upon your principles would be the voice of the people: and you are bound to go by their instructions. How would you get out of this dilemma? Do not you perceive the distress you would be in?

PH. Not at all! the thing is as clear as the meridian sun, I would certainly comply, it would be my duty to do so.

W. I did not expect this: I imagined you would have stopped here: have you considered how it would be resented on the other side; and the consequent injury that might accrue to this dependant state? As a patriot, must you not be true to the interest of your country? Would you blindly run into a measure that would inevitably hurt it?

PH. I tell you, Wagstaffe, you have taken this matter by the wrong end. Ireland, it is true, is a dependant state, but the galling fetters must be knocked off, they have entered into our soul; our right to be considered as an independant state, is as good as their own, and must be asserted. Have
you

you read what has been lately published upon the subject by ———

W. No indeed ! It is a subject in which I wanted no information, after reading Mr. M———x's case of Ireland many years ago, I formed my opinion, and as we say, made up my mind.

PH. He and the author I referred to agree in the main : did not he convince you ?

W. No, indeed, that very sensible writer, in my apprehension, had mistaken the true state of the case.

PH. This is new, and will never, I imagine go down ; if you have any reason for it, I shall be glad to hear it.

W. To so able and expert a casuist as you, I must say nothing for which I have not a reason, and in the case before us, my reason is this : Ireland can be considered but in two possible senses, either as a *conquered province*, or as a *colony* : in respect to the real Irish, its early inhabitants, it is certainly a conquered province : in respect to the English, who have been sent hither from time to time, to preside, manage and direct, it is as plainly a colony ; consider it then in which sense you will, it can have no claim of independancy : that claim if it could be asserted with any prospect, or probability of success, can belong only to that class of its people, the native Irish, who still make up the major part, and by the law of nations, have some right to throw off the yoke if it were in their power, for the right of conquest, certainly holds no longer than it can be maintained : mad and foolish would they be ever to think of it, because they neither could subsist by themselves, nor under any other patronage be so easy and happy ; nor indeed is the thing possible ; and yet to make sure of their allegiance, it might be prudent I would say, to change

the ground they are upon, and give them gentler usage and better terms. Be this hereafter as it may, in respect to the English who now occupy so great a part, their claim to independancy is none at all, they brought with them the shackles they wear, and it would be as idle as undutiful, to endeavour to throw them off; parents indeed ought to be indulgent and tender, and children should be obedient; what say you Phlogos to this?

PH. Say! by g—d I say, that it is all damned Jesuitical sophistry, and I suspect you were bred at *St. Omer's*, or are the spawn of some of the old bog-trotters.

W. Keep your temper good Phlogos, you are mistaken, I am of English descent; and hold by the same tenure, with all those who have come here since the conquest; and though I may think our mother country bear a little too hard upon us now and then, I never can think it adviseable to break or to quarrel with them; I am not for standing upon punctilios, when there is nothing to be got, nor any good to be proposed from it.

PH. What then, you approve of the late measures.

W. I think it was very idle to throw out that bone of contention, when in truth there was nothing that looked like a temptation: but I expected Phlogos, some reply to what I had advanced.

PH. Since you insist on it, I will do it in that short sentence *VOX POPULI, VOX DEI.*

W. Can you recollect no instances? If I am not mistaken, there are numerous ones in the History of all Nations, to disprove that maxim.

PH. Why in faith, I believe there are, but when we are gravelled and pinched, what have we else to recur to; I see nothing besides that we have for it.

W. Yes,

W. Yes, there is a better author : to act like honest and wise men, when the cause is indefensible to give it up, retract your error, and be received into grace. This is what *religion, good morals, and sound policy* would advise.

PH. What different characters have you assumed? Just now you were a Jesuit, now you are turned a canting parson. I suppose you are a pensioner, or have been promised some preferment?

W. Believe me Phlogos, no such thing; I have never in my life received a gratuity of any kind from a court; I am a volunteer in the service, and only amusing myself in the view of doing some good to my country, by correcting the mistaken notions of some wrong heads.

PH. And you would really have us patriots give up; I tell you, it is too late to think of it; we have gone too far to retreat: the people would never trust us again.

W. The people, I believe, would be very easy, if you, and such as you, would let them alone: I mean even those who attend your summons, and go along with you; on fair reckoning you must be sensible, that you have few or none to reckon upon, but some mad incendiaries in the city of London. Were the nation to be polled, you would find the majority against you, as great as in the two houses of parliament; and how illiberally have you been forced to deal in falsehood? In that infamous remonstrance lately, with unparalleled effrontery delivered to his Majesty, they pretended to put it in the name of the board of aldermen: how many of them pray subscribed it?

PH. Enough to make a quorum; the rest like the brotherhood here, are a pack of crazy addled headed hum drums, without soul or spirit.

W. But was this honest or fair?

PH. Never

PH. Never tell me of what is honest; it was necessary, and necessity you know has no law.

W. Very well, go on with your shew, and see what will come of it?

PH. We are very near a crisis, a little time will shew which is to strike, the King or the People: I hope Wagstaffe, you would not advise him to stand out.

W. I am not capable of advising him, nor is it in my department, but if you would know my sentiments in the case, I answer honestly, that I do not see that he has any thing else for it, but to stand resolutely upon the spot he is on, without budging an inch. Have you considered the probable consequences of his complying with this faucy remonstrance: I imagine if he do, he is undone.

PH. What then, you think he is safe where he is?

W. Ay surely! his wisdom in my apprehension is always to go with his parliament: whilst he does so, he acts constitutionally, and would be fatally, I fear, imprudent to break with them: we have enough in our history to warn princes against such impolitic conduct; a new parliament whilst the fermentation ye have raised is boiling, might come together in bad humour, and take it into their heads to do odd things. I need not speak plainer, you know Phlogos what I mean.

PH. I do, and that is what we would be at; we should then have the ball at our foot; and I warrant you, we would manage him.

W. But he will have the sense, I fancy, to keep himself out of your power, and, to prevent such seditious measures in times to come, make your insolent leaders feel the weight of his legal authority.

PH. I tell

PH. I tell you Wagstaffe, he dare not, our requisition is reasonable, and if he do not consent, we will force him; *what by the stern virtue of our ancestors was gained, by their descendants SHALL be defended.* There is the true spirit of patriotism, as soft as the sound of the enlivening words vibrates on my ear; it warms my heart; can any thing be more animating?

W. Hush! vain tool of a party; you are making fetters for yourselves; if ever you are enslaved, it will be by your own madness; the King means you no hurt, nor can do you any, without bringing it upon yourselves. But a word more, about this same remonstrance: say the city of London were unanimous, whence do they derive their right of remonstrating? I thought remonstrating had been solely a parliamentary privilege, at least I do not remember, that private corporations ever assumed this privilege in times heretofore.

PH. There it is again, that forms eat up, and destroy the substance: forms are but fashions; and modes of governing, are as alterable as modes of dress: our predecessors could have no right to tie us up to ways of their contriving, and we have as good a title to make precedents for posterity, as our fathers had.

W. But if that which cements and keeps together the several parts of a building is taken away, the unconnected materials will quickly dissolve and tumble: now were this goodly fabrick, the constitution of this country to be dissolved, what could you contrive in place of it, so elegant, so durable, so eligible?

PH. I told you before, that we had formed no scheme in case of such event: but let it come when it will *impavidum ferient ruinæ*. The bulk of us have little to loose, and out of the scattered ruins
may

may pick up more than we had. If hearing it now cracking about your ears, you stand trembling, why the devil do not you prevent it, and advise the King to change his measures?

W. How! advise him to do your work for you, to be the instrument of his own and the commonwealth's undoing; to act too, not only foolishly, but wickedly: you forget, or have not considered, that constitutionally he cannot comply: his coronation oath, which your friends have so indecently reminded him of, obliges him to preserve the constitution in the legal form it was handed over to him: were his people unanimous in the requisition, it is not clear that he ought: his right even then, to stand out, would be unquestionable; were a request of the kind to come in the ordinary parliamentary way, he would still have a negative, and *Savifera*, would put an end to it: suppose his parliament should demand his assent to an act, to make themselves perpetual, not to be dissolved without their own consent; you know there is a precedent for it: which would you think him obliged to comply with his parliament, or the *Livery of London*, who clamour for its dissolution? You remember what the consequence on a time was of the first; and hath he not evidently reason from the present seditious and tubulent humours that are afloat, to imagine, that the consequence of complying with this saucy requisition, would end in the other, might put him in the power of one which might adopt the measure, and force him to it: tell me, Phlogos, did that parliament cease to be representatives by that illegal unconstitutional proceeding?

PH. Hum! By G—d Wagstaffe, you grow damn'd queer, and from the figure you ordinarily make in the *MERCURY*, I did not suspect you for a question so pat; but for all that, I think it is to

be answered : we have a way by which we reconcile contradictions be they ever so palpable : *vox POPULI*, I quoted it already, is *vox DEI*, in that they had the people with them : this solves, me thinks, the difficulty ; indeed it is explained in the remonstrance, by an instance less invidious which they happily chose.

W. If you have never another card to play, the game is up, it is a vile and wicked maxim, hardly in any instance wherein it has been pleaded admissible, in the famous precedent referred to, when they came to the experiment, it was found that the voice of the people, though one party roared so much louder than the other, was not with them : they divided, and the majority all the wise, respectable and virtuous, took to the other side ; of the multitude that harked in with the popular cry, the greater part were, as now, the idle and profligate, the scum of the nation, with some few, who deserved to be better spoken of, who afterwards acknowledged their delusion, and repented of their folly ; and the issue proved, that the general sense of the nation had been falsely collected ; clamour and noise mistaken for sense and reason ; the same will be found to be the case at this day, though ye have as many trumpeters of sedition, whose general lot should be *Bedlam*. There is another prison, whereto I would send the leaders.

PH. I am astonished to hear you talk at this rate ; why it is the peoples cause, that they, and that I am now pleading : they are with us to a man ; there was but one dissentient voice at the *Hustings* ; does not that strike you ?

W. By no means ; the wise and honest absented by choice, they resolved, like good citizens, to have no share in what those madmen were about, though I revere the man for his virtue, I reckon it unlucky,

that even he was there ; he had no business in such bad company, where he was sure noise and nonsense, would carry it against sense and truth : had he not been there, the advantage to your cause by the unanimity, had been none ; the Livery of London, with their trappings so big in your eyes, are not the people of England : the great bulk of them are quietly at their own business, minding their farms and their trades ; would it not be better think you, to let them remain so ?

PH. No ! If they have not caught the infection, it must be carried to them, give the thing time, and I warrant you it will spread : the people of England are very combustible stuff, easily set in a blaze.

W. Too much so I own, nor with so many incendiaries among them do I wonder at it : this was the reason, why Hen. V. the monarch, you unluckily mentioned for a patron of liberty, found it necessary to follow his grand father's advice, to keep them always employed in war abroad ; that they might have something else to do, than to squabble with one another : how far the same mean may be feasible, or advisable now, I am not a judge ; but are not you apprehensive that these incendiaries may suffer for this, under a legal prosecution ?

PH. Fools indeed have been heard, silly enough to talk of this ; but I do not imagine it will be attempted ; the ministry dare not, they are timid : we see it, and that gives us courage to go on.

W. But suppose it should be attempted : say the parliament should take them in hand, who would dare to resist them ?

PH. Pho, Pho ! They will find us resolved in the point : whoever begins, they are the aggressors, and must answer for the consequences.

W. Is

W. Is rebellion nothing in your account? Is there no such thing as treason against the state?

PH. That matter wants and must be better explained: I wish that damn'd act of *Edward III.* was out of our way: it was not fitted for these times, and comes too often a-cross us, we must see to get rid of it. It ought to have taken in the King, as well as the subject.

W. I thought it was a maxim, that the King can do no wrong.

PH. It is a pretty subject for a court hireling to descant and flourish upon, but you know ways have been found to get over it, and Kings made amenable to law, as well as subjects. Nature has made no such difference between man and man; and how often must I repeat it, that nature is the only unerring guide.

W. And how often Phlogos must you be reminded, that what you call nature, never can in the social state be a rule to any man: these airy flights, in your carousals among yourselves, may pass; on such occasions any thing will go down, absurdities, be they ever so great, never shock or disgust; some fool in the company, will always be found to give his voice and applaud: but consider that you and I are now in serious mood: I look for conviction if I am wrong, at least such information, as I may reason upon hereafter by myself: tell me them candidly and freely, in the cool recesses of study and reflection, would you advise or consent to measures, that might end in the ruin of this goodly pile, the result of so much wisdom, toil and expence? Your party has gone great lengths, would you not advise them to stop before it came to this?

PH. Under the rose, Wagstaffe, in those intervals, I own I have qualms: but I know not how it

is, as soon as I go abroad, two or three huzza's of the mob, restores the tone, and sets all to rights again; and I tell you honestly, whatever I may do; that the principal agitators, who correspond with me sometimes, mean to go to the foundation, and not to leave one stone standing upon another.

W. But what is it that they go upon? There can be no parallel drawn between the unhappy times you mentioned, and the present: and upon the whole what harm hath the King done?

PH. Harm! Is he not a King? And is not that enough?

W. I thought it had been only with his ministers that you were angry.

PH. I have learned enough from this conference, to see you are not so great a fool, as we took you to be; when we abuse his ministers, it is not always prudent or safe to name him; but I dare say you understand us: we have desired him over and over to change his ministers, to humour us, he has done it as often, what have we got by that; or what good hath it done us? Do not we know that it is his will they execute, and that all ministers will be alike, as long as they have a King to direct them: the design, you may believe me, is to be rid of him, we are too many and too wise to be subject to the will of one man. *No one man is enough to govern us all.*

W. God preserve me Phlogos, what is it I hear; why this is old HARRY MARTIN just in the style of 41, you will send me to my prayers,

PH. If you are disposed to be devout, you had better retire and begin, for fear of being interrupted before you have done: for whatever Wagstaffe you may think of the parallel, there is our precedent, the only one in our annals that deserves to be recorded: read the inimitable Mrs. M'C---l---y, she

she is the only one of our historians, whose accounts may be safely confided in, who has set the history of those times in a just light: your *Clarendons*, *Cartes*, *Humes*, and *Smollets*, how do they twinkle beside her?

W. The merits of that performance, whenever you chuse, shall be the subject of another disquisition: you will allow, I fancy, that she has dipped her pen too deep in gall, the redundant acrimony shocked and disgusted me so much, that I was often forced to throw it aside, and sometimes in danger of throwing it into the fire.

PH. I advise you Wagstaffe! to throw off the trammels of education; put on the easy and genteel mode of the times: you see how awkward and stiff they sit upon you: nor do you seem to apprehend, what danger they may expose you to: I have born with you patiently, but were you to utter such things as you have said to me, at one of our clubs, you would probably be saluted with a glass or a bottle at your head: and go home too discomposed for a fit of devotion.

W. Except in a tete a tete like this, I shall endeavour to keep out of your way. Riot and noise I never could bear; but you are mistaken, if you think that it is any dread of the event, or any thing that may be in your power to accomplish, that will send me to my prayers; it is *for you* I will pray, that you may recover your senses, and find mercy: for as the thing goes on, the prospect brightens: your numbers are dwindling, your leaders sensible, that ye had gone too far, deserting you daily.

PH. It is true. By some late accounts, some mean-spirited rascals it is said, have gone off; but never fear, that ever we shall want leaders; have we not the excellent, the incomparable TAYCHO:

we can never want support whilst we have him, you know he is the favourite of the people.

W. Do you rely upon him, that he will go all the lengths you design to go : I thought he had too much ballast, to be driven out of course by the breath of a mob, though he spreads too often I confess his sails to catch it.

PH. To say the truth Wagstaffe, in my own thoughts, he is not much to be relied on : he is, as he has been called, *a medley of contradictions* ; but the people have been so much used to huzza him, that we are forced to caress him when he comes among us : he is damn'd heady it is true, and hard to manage, every thing must be in his way, if any one offers to cantradiet him, he instantly flies off.

W. In the fluctuating state of things, such variety in the characters of men can give no surprise ; it is not long however, since the bulk of you thought that he had been fit only for Bedlam. The figure he cuts in my eye at present, is not an amiable one.

PH. I am listless what you say or think of him, my quarrel to him, is that I know he is attached to monarchy, and if he saw the pile in danger of falling, would clap himself up as a buttress to sustain it : for this reason, I am informed, the staunch and trusty patriots, are shy in their discourse with him, and do not lead him into the whole of their designs : we are not without hopes however, that in some of his sallies, he will loose sight of his principles, and do something that will fix him, and make it impossible for him to break with us : and now Wagstaffe, how far I may have wrought upon you I do not know, or whether you will be persuaded to come over to us, but if you do not, remember, I now tell you at parting, that you will be one of the first sacrifices.

W. What

W. What has put you in a hurry Phlogos? It is not late.

PH. Why I am not sure but the Committe of the Free Press, may be even now waiting for me, it is about the time they generally call; that paper must be kept up, and you know I am the soul of it, they never venture to publish any thing without my approbation, indeed I believe, but for me it had dropt ere now.

W. It is for that very reason that I would detain you, to speak a word or two to their case.

PH. Be quick then.

W. Why do not you correct their scurrility? Persuade them to use a little more decorum, and not indiscriminately and freely abuse every character that comes in their way.

PH. Who do they abuse that has not deserved it?

W. Why the L—d L———t, his S——t——y, and every body that has any connexion with them; you do not surely think this is right?

PH. Why not, if they have deserved it.

W. Had they deserved it, I might say as you do, but allegations without evidence, we are not to take your word for: the L. L. appears to me a jolly good natured man, quite inoffensive, and in matters where others have been reprehensible, to deserve commendation: if the interest of the kingdom has not been promoted, he has the credit, at least, of having recommended it. I hear of no strangers about him, nor of a single preferment in church or army given to any but Irishmen: you will allow there is something in this, what is it that people are angry at?

PH. You are very incurious Wagstaffe, or very dull: do you never read our Journal? Look at that of April 3d and 7th, and see what a figure he cuts there.

W. By

W. By accident those papers came in my way, and from the twinkling of that little SATILLES, was induced to give him a second reading: it is all fillabub and froth; the distortious so unnatural, as to be imputed, as the writer owns, *to the sagacity of malice* only. The first article of the charge is, that *he promised the JUDGE'S BILL*, and failed in the *performance*: be it so, how does it appear that was his fault? He is not the first governor, who have made promises that they could not perform: I could refer you to instances in your own memory as well as mine, where this happened, and the intention was accepted without any forfeiture of good will on either side: if he recommended it, whatever the success was, in my account he is acquitted.

PH. You do not seem man, to apprehend where the true pinch of the question lies, *a chief governor, is never to promote or to suffer any thing that is improper.*

W. You give it up then that the miscarriage of the Judges Bill, was not imputable to him? How could it? If his advice was over-ruled where his power did not reach: but to go in your own way; I grant no chief governor is to promote any thing that is improper: but *suffer* it he may, because he often must whether he will or no. *L.* Lieutenants have sometimes very limited powers, and must do often not what their own discretion would advise, but as they are ordered and instructed.

PH. But a man of honour and virtue who acts upon principle, will never submit to this. If he is controled *he can resign.*

W. Very fine! Resignations are indeed much in mode, and I suspect, as often repented of. He can, it is true, and so may hand over the work to another who may do the same, and that one to a third, and so on. Where would be the wisdom
of

of that? Or what good have you known to follow from it? It is very easy in such cases to prescribe and say what men should, or should not do; but I take it, no man can precisely say, in any given case, what another should do, except he were exactly in the same circumstances; such judgments, though so frequent, are rarely the result of any thing but ill humour, the general cause of all the petulance, satire, and slander at present so common and so offensive: now tell me good Phlogos, how is this little spruce and pert letter writer, justifiable in saying, that the *chief governor is in all cases responsible to us*.

PH. Do you pretend to say he is not? If we are aggrieved, who besides have we to call upon, who to complain to, or of, but him?

W. To him you may, but of him not justly, until you are sure he is in fault: but even this does not come up to the case; his commission is not from us, nor was he chosen for this department by us: how comes he then *to be responsible* to us? He is no more than the medium through which our requests are conveyed, and except it can be proved, that after promising to recommend, he had failed to do it, or had shuffled and prevaricated in the matter, I do not see how he is at all responsible to us for the success of them: is the issue to our satisfaction, we are to thank him for his recommendation; if not, he did the best he could, and we are not to blame him; give him fair play: I will go no farther in his defence than truth and reason will bear me out: what say you to this?

PH. I say Syndercombe is a lively brisk young man, and Broghill a dull and tedious dunce: he has given new life to our paper; you have gone but a little way in him yet, take care, or before you get to the end, you will be apt to flounder.

W. Never fear Phlogos, for as smart as you think him, I shall be able to deal with him; smooth and well turned periods, are too often taken in commutation for sense and argument; but against an antagonist so ungarded as this spruce young letter-writer, he must have very little skill, who cannot make some advantage of him: responsible to us, who does he mean there pray by us?

PH. Mean! the people, who else?

W. But those you call the people, are divided, I find, into two classes; the disaffected, who are shagrin'd because they are not allowed to lead and drive as they used; or the well affected, who rejoice that by the chief governor's residence, a way has been opened to favour, in which merit can go forward, without hackneying at the heels of those who have none, nor indeed sense to judge of it. For my part, I am amazed, that there should be a man in Ireland insensible to the obligations they are under to his M——y and his Viceroy, for emancipating them from that ignominious slavery, they had so long endured: and I am persuaded the disgust we hear of, is only from those, who without any mask for their ambition, imprudently prick up their asses ears:—you, Phlogos, are better acquainted with the intricacies of the scene L—d T—n—d had to go over, than I am: without being privy to any of their secrets, it is, however, easy to see, *that the growing majority in the attack upon government in the second session, was the result only of that unnatural league mentioned by Syndercombe, formed by the unprincipled and profligate, upon false suggestions impudently avowed, and unwarily adopted.* Unmeaning and absurd as he affects to represent him, *what was a demonstration of the strength of government, will never be a demonstration of his incapacity.* Does not the contradiction
here

here stare you in the face? The writer meant to calumniate, but you see he has unwarily drawn his panegyrick.

PH. You run on too fast Wagstaffe : go back to the preceding paragraph, and try can you vindicate him for *uniformly reviling and ridiculing the only measure of his administration that succeeded.*

W. You mean I suppose, the Octennial Bill, but I would have thought that both you and he would have been glad to have that matter forgotten : I wonder he was not ashamed to mention it ; was it the men, or the measure he ridiculed ? I fancy only the first : and did ever men deserve it better ? Did they not all, (two or three excepted) stand aghast, and with rueful hearts bewail the folly of adopting a measure, which secretly they abjured, as sincerely as they did the pretender ; in the various scenes it had to traverse, somewhere they computed, it must and would stop ; and whilst their constituents were cajoled, would still be snug in their seats : they were bit, and deserved it, for endeavouring to throw the odium of refusing it upon their sovereign or his ministers : this was too inviting a subject of ridicule, to be passed over by one who constitutionally is ever simpering into gayety : if he has laughed at them, so have I, and so have you ; how then is a man's being merry over a bottle, and serious upon a throne, a proof of his *asserting a prerogative to falsify* ? Had the writer's theme been as copious as he calls it, a *writer of no despicable talents*, would have culled out of the crowd an instance more to his purpose : he would have blushed at acknowledging, *that this inelegance of style was his own*—INELEGANCE, is a term too faint and low ; it is illiberal, disingenuous, mean !

He goes on and tells us, *that the augmentation, was the principle object, and carried so as to be a disgrace, not an honour to him*: is this true! what numbers are involved in the censure? How many must share in the disgrace?—*As originally proposed it miscarried*—Why?—Every man who was present at the debate can tell—It was not adviseable to push it, till the people had got a sop—they were then clamouring for the Octennial Bill—a mean was proposed, give us that first, and we will consent to the other.—Is not this true? Deny it if you can: consequently *in the principle of truck, or capitulation that disgraced it*, he was not the first, he was not the only, nor the most flagitious: perhaps he was the only one who acted with honour in the case.

PH. How did you come by this Wagstaffe?

W. I heard it in the House of Commons, the day the measure was carried out of the mouths of men, who you glory in having of your party: who spoke out and said, that though they opposed it before, they consented then in consequence of a promise upon a stipulated condition; this was from men not apt to stumble upon inconsistencies, like your writer, and who yet must bear their share of the disgrace, if any falls upon the L—d L——t: for if it was a reason for not complying to the first requisition, *that the terms were injurious to the subject*, it had been as good a reason for dissenting to the second, *that they were dishonourable to the crown*; for retracting the promise here, had been a saving pretence, had any been wanted; but in truth none was, for it was a measure in private, universally approved from first to last, and among your orators, was there a man who had a word of reason or argument to offer against it: though so many of them flourished and paraded for the entertainment of the gallery: you know Phlogos, that there were
men

men who at the first going off, would have contracted for that, and more than that, could they have had their terms.

PH. I do by G—d !

W. How, I pray then, have these men got into such favour with your Committee, that now ye shake hands and embrace them as patriots ; it is not long since ye spoke of them, and treated them as a pack of detestable wretches, not to be trusted, hardly fit to be conversed with.

PH. To be ingenuous Wagstaffe, what you say, I must own is true ; but our way is to embrace all that come : as fast as they change sides they are welcome, they serve a turn, and keep it a going.

W. I see it is so, and you are right to own it, for indeed every body sees through the guise you put on to hide your tricks : but tell me ; as often as the crown recedes in part from a requisition, and condescends to accept from the people what they are willing to give, though less than was asked, why is this branded as *ignominious* ? Or where is the occasion for *either the sovereign or his representative to blush* : in various instances you have read, that princes had condescended to accept of one subsidy, when they had asked three or four : and was that the mark of a *wicked king* to have made the demand, or of a *weak one* to recede from it ? *The style is the gentleman's own* : but without both weakness and wickedness, a man would hardly indulge it : at such pains to excite *blushes in the representative*, I cannot consider him as *very sparing of his sovereign's* : had he been as prudent as he is pert, he would have been more sparing of his own ; and not have left himself thus at the mercy of any one who had leisure to take him to task. Upon the whole you see, that when this fine parading letter

letter is taken to pieces and examined, it is all empty flourish, or scurrilous abuse.

PH. You have not got to the end, go on I pray.

W. No Phlogos, the sequel is so ungentlemanly, so illiberal and mean, as could have no other source than a corrupt heart gangrened by disappointment. It deserves a place only among the *annales volufi chacatas chartas!* there let it stink and die; too dirty for me to handle: though I suppose in his sense, I shall pass for a ministerial tool, for volunteering thus in defence of injured reputation.

PH. That does not appear till the allegations are disproved.

W. Nothing is easier than to give an invidious turn to the actions and conduct of men in high stations: I remember when even the virtue of Mr. *Wolfe* was celebrated with no higher an encomium than *successful temerity*: and the r—l commander ambitious of figuring at the head of a standing army, laid open to the suspicion and comparisons drawn between him and Richard III.—There is no minding what party writers will say, and when *Wilkes and America* are singled out, to support the charge of bad principles, I conclude, the theme copious, as he calls it, was quite exhausted; it was rather too puritanical to call this *persecution*.

PH. You are of the true ministerial cast I see, the blackest things whiten under your hands. If the King's subjects were all of the same mold, he would soon be as despotic as the Sultan. Then would follow Vizir T—n—d, and Bascha Mac-t-y, &c. &c.

W. If ever those things follow, it will be your own fault; you, and your partizans, are indeed working forward to it as fast as you can, and there may be too much reason to apprehend it may come to this at last: things are near a crisis, ye see what

ye have already brought upon yourselves here ; do not you tremble under the apprehensions of the probable issue ? Or have you computed what it may be ?

PH. We are sick of this fellow, and want to be rid of him : the next that comes, from his example, will probably have more caution and prudence. Have you read doctor L——s's *dedication* ?

W. I have, and wish he had had the discretion to suppress it ; I would be glad to know what those many intolerable oppressions and grievances he compleans of are ? I, for my part, feel none of them, nor can I find out what he would be at, nor see any thing to be learned from him, except to spell some words in a different manner than I had been used to.

PH. This is too much ; such stupidity is hardly to be borne : why there is demonstration in every word of it.

W. Of what ? I know I think what the controversy is about ; that it is no more than whether we shall have three Bashas, or one Vizir, is not that it ?

PH. No ! That is not what sticks with me ; but whether perogative shall be enlarged, and the privileges of the Com——s restrained, or rather destroyed.

W. I tell you Phlogos, it was foolish and unseasonable to throw out such a bone of contention : when there was nothing to provoke you, nor any good purpose to be served by it. And you are as weak as you think I am stupid, if ye imagine that any succeeding V. R. will come here instructed to relinquish the scheme : I was born in this country, was never out of it, can have no interest in any other, and therefore attached to it, and for this reason cannot wish that things should go back to the old channel,

channel, to be governed by a set of men, who, to aggrandise themselves, would inflave me : as long as you remember, has not that been the case ?

PH. Though I condescended to this conference, I knew no good would come of it, you are irreclamable I see, and not to be convinced, so I shall take my leave.

W. Let me detain you a moment to ask one question more, the reason of your spleen against *the Secretary* ?

PH. A word in your ear Wagstaffe, do not you know his connexion with the *THANE*.

W. Is that it ? then I blush for you, and at best can but pity you : was that a reason for falling upon a man and abusing him, before he had done either good or evil : the presumptions were so many in his favour, as might at least have secured him a good reception : descended from a reputable stock in this kingdom, with a very considerable property in it too, he could not well be regardless of its interests : these things generally create a bias : ought there not to be some mean to correct such enormous abuses of liberty ?

PH. The things you refer to, I confess were indecent, but it is a point that admits of no redress : the freedom of the press must not be restrained, the moment it is, liberty will expire.

W. Here we are as wide again as ever : I think the contrary, and am bold to maintain, that some restraint reasonably may, and justly ought to be laid on *the press*.

PH. Zounds ! What is it I hear ? What a Heretic have I been conversing with ? Do you mean Wagstaffe, to be a martyr to the cause ? Take care. If I hallo the mob at you, you are a gone man, past redemption.

W. Why

W. Why that is always the last, and indeed only resource you have to trust to; the great pains you have been at to instruct and train them, shew what ye mean: but hear me patiently—If every printed was prohibited under a severe penalty from publishing any anonymous paper, without having it vouched to him under the hand of the author, engaging to stand forth and avow the fact, whenever he was questioned and called to account for it: where would be the harm?

PH. What the devil would the man be at? Do you want a licensing office? Must we have an *imprimatur* from some court chaplain, or secretary, to every thing?

W. No, Phlogos! that is not the thing: I only want a way of coming at the true *culprit*, as often as any unwarrantable abuse is published: as things now go, a poor printer, perhaps not in fault, nor a judge of his own danger, when he thinks he is innocently earning a penny for a livelihood, is liable, and often is punished for another's transgression.

PH. Talk no more of it, we will endure no violation of this invaluable privilege. What the devil! put it out of our power to call together a mob! what other check have we upon the pride of upstarts! the insolence of office! and the baseness of villains, who flatter and promise, deceive and betray—Such a fellow now as *Jack Promise!* would you have him at liberty, to play his law-game upon us, without being lashed for it?

W. Just now I thought Jack had expiated all his sins, that he was received into grace, and become a white boy with you: I don't know where to fix you, Phlogos, you are so variable: but at all hazards, let what will become of that man of straw: I would arrest defamation and slander: I

would not have it in the power (if it could be prevented) to have even him stabbed by his neighbour in the dark, to be criminated and aspersed, in a way that would leave him no opportunity either of defence or retaliating.

PH. Well! well! you may talk on, but it must be to yourself. Ring the bell, and call a chair—I have no longer patience—the liberty of the press!—damn me!—the liberty of the press!—was ever the like heard?—No more—I cannot away with it—good night, no more!

W. Since it must be so, Phlogos, I thank you heartily for this favour; you have been very obliging, and I will return the compliment as soon as I know it will be agreeable; for there are several points remain to be discussed; and even those we have spoken to, we have handled but superficially.

PH. If any such occasion offers, take care to touch no more upon that string, or the harmony will all be spoiled—so, good night.

W. I wish you a good night with all my heart, and that the charms of your bed-fellow, may restore you to good humour. Adieu!

F I N I S

6 BB 58